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# CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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## REVIEWS

**Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain.** By C. H. V. Sutherland; pp. xii, 184, 14 plates. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. \$3.50

The great number of hoards from the Roman period found in Britain form the basis of this account which discusses the separate but related problems of the coins which circulated in the island and of those actually struck there. Even before the conquest Roman silver had begun to permeate Britain and to mingle with the native issues which, like those of Gaul, were derived from the famous type of Philip of Macedon. The conquest of Claudius, of course, greatly augmented the amount of imported Roman silver and for the first time introduced Roman bronze. Thereafter the imperial currency gradually absorbed the whole field, eliminating the non-Roman native mintage, but supplemented from time to time by more or less extensive imitations of the Roman issues themselves. In the early days of Roman occupation the volume of currency greatly increased, as it did again, and to an even greater extent, under the Flavians. Beginning with Marcus Aurelius there is a decline which lasts past the middle of the third century. A revival from Gallienus to the Tetrici and another under the house of Constantine break this downward trend, but the activity of the British rulers Carausius and Allectus from 287 to 296 and the subsequent establishment of a mint in London could not halt the deterioration of British coinage which exhibits an ever increasing proportion of those copies known as the radiate *minimi* and, after the Constantinian period, of the diademed *minimi* as well. By the end of the fourth century true Roman coins are found no more and only the imitations supply the need of currency until the introduction of Anglo-Saxon silver.

This, in brief, is the account which Mr. Suther-

land has given, much expanded and with constant analysis of the actual evidence of the finds. Careful consideration is given to the copies, whether semi-official or wholly unauthorized counterfeits; two appendices are devoted to an exhaustive discussion of the date and the classification of the radiate *minimi*; and the plates illustrate a large number of copies of all periods, thus providing students with most welcome assistance in dealing with a large and difficult class of coins. Gathered into a third appendix is a list of the hoards discussed in the text with their places of publication. Altogether it is a meritorious work for which historians and numismatists alike will be grateful. It will certainly encourage the accurate reporting of hoards which in the past have too often been neglected because they are individually dull or difficult.

It must be confessed that the book is not easy to read. In spite of the wise device of dealing with the imitations in separate sections, there is so much compressed into a few pages—historical material, questions of standard and fineness, analysis of hoards, reference to site finds—that it is sometimes difficult to disentangle the conclusions which will be the chief interest of most readers. Even fundamental principles are not always clearly stated. For example: one hoard may be the accumulation of the best coins available, saved because they are heavier or finer than the ordinary run, and it will therefore show what had been withdrawn and was no longer in circulation; whereas, another hoard, buried in a moment of panic, may give a true picture of what *was* in circulation at the time. It is clear that the author understands the difference, but I cannot find that he has explained it. Presumably the book is a compromise between the necessity of making a volume of reasonable size and the desire to have it thoroughly documented. The result would have been clearer if the author had followed throughout the arrangement of Appendix I.

with a list of the hoards to be discussed all together at the beginning of each section, followed by the commentary. A map, moreover, would be a most desirable addition.

But, whatever the difficulties presented by the text, the appendices and the plates form a notable contribution to numismatic literature.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

Yale University

**Aristotle, Problems.** VOL. II, XXII-XXXVIII. Text and translation by W. S. Hett; **Rhetorica ad Alexandrum.** Text and translation by H. Rackham; pp. vi, 455. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. (Loeb Classical Library) \$2.50

Since this is a continuation of the prior volume of Hett's translation of the Problems, little need be added to the views expressed by earlier reviewers of the former volume. The problems included in this volume concern various physical phenomena and assorted passions, virtues and vices, treated in a way to delight the heart of Aristophanes's *merimnophrontistai*. A very short time passed in the reading of them convinces one that the 'master of those who know' could never have perpetrated such a *rudis indigestaque moles*, and makes him readily accept the belief that this is a compilation of materials from such later collections as the Theophrastean corpus. One even feels ready to go with the critic who dates the collection in its present form as late as the fifth or sixth century of our era. Its chief value lies in its indicating the type of research which engaged the interest of students in the Greek scientific period after Aristotle, and in its illustrating the universal curiosity of the Greek mind. The translation is satisfactory, conveying accurately, for the most part, the unadorned, straightforward Greek of the text.

The text and translation of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* occupy pages 258-449. A short introduction of five pages is followed by a three-page topical outline, and the body of the treatise is followed by a single page indexing the rhetorical terms and proper names employed in the text. Without committing himself, Rackham obviously inclines to the view, held by many scholars, that the treatise is that work of Anaximenes of Lampsacus described by Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 3.4.9. Rackham's text, which is based on Bekker's Berlin Aristotle of 1831, and for which he acknowledges his indebtedness to the Spengel-Hammer Teubner text of 1894 and to Forster's Oxford Aristotle, vol. 11, uses also the collation of a papyrus fragment (P. Hibeh 26). The translation of this admirable text is lucid, adhering

for the most part, in spite of claims to the contrary, closely to the text. It is no small feat to have produced a clear and readable version of a treatise which is often vague, and whose only style is to have no style whatsoever.

At the conclusion of a senior course in Lysias, in order to demonstrate systematically Greek rhetorical theory, your reviewer read to the class portions of Rackham's *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, particularly the translation of 1423a-1429a, which are illustrated by Lysias' usage. The class responded to this specimen of sophistic teaching as enthusiastically as the youth of Athens reacted to the teachings of Protagoras or Prodicus. With all its obvious shortcomings, the treatise, used with caution, affords an admirable illustration of the living values of Greek rhetoric, and may well be employed in Rackham's excellent translation by the teacher who hopes to revive interest in the Greek orators.

JOHN PAUL PRITCHARD

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#### A Social and Religious History of the Jews.

By S. W. Baron; vol. I pp. xiv, 377; vol. II pp. x, 462; vol. III pp. xii, 406. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Vols. I and II, \$3.75 each; Vol. III, \$4.00

The first volume of this interesting and useful book makes frequent reference to the relations of the Jews before Mohammed with the Greek and Roman world. As the notes of volume III and its immense bibliography<sup>1</sup> reveal, the author, professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions on the Miller Foundation, Columbia University, has successfully attempted to apply to this work the most recent results of specialized classical studies. The first application appears on p. 53 of volume I, where is presented the plausible etymological connection between the Greek *tyrannos* and the Philistine title *seren*<sup>2</sup>.

Chapters V-VII throw interesting light on the way in which Jewry from Alexander to Mohammed, though dominated by the political, economic and cultural influences of Hellas and Rome, yet succeeded in maintaining an independent way of

<sup>1</sup> The alphabetical bibliography of 300-400 titles would, on the other hand, have been much more useful, if divided into groups according either to period or to subject. The valuable publication of S. Ejges, *Das Geld im Talmud* (Dissert., Giessen, 1930) is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Gesenius—F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* s. v. For other etymologies of the difficult word cf. P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (1922) 134; I. Béranger, *Tyrannus*, *Rev. Étud. Latines* 13 (1935) 85 f.



life. Despite this, the civilization and to some extent the intellectual background of the Talmudic Age (ca. 100-ca. 500 A.D.) in Palestine, and even in both Parthian and Sassanian Babylonia, have a considerable western flavour (vol. I 247 f., 294; III 66, 72). It is therefore hardly surprising that the Jews under Islamic rule contributed to the development of Graeco-Arabic thought (I 360 f.), and were partly responsible for the transmission of Aristotelianism to mediaeval Europe (II 6).

When dealing with classical sources of early Jewish history, the author makes very few actual mistakes<sup>3</sup>. He can hardly be expected to be acquainted with the most recent special publications on Ancient History, and much less with some unpublished researches. For example, he mentions (I 143) discoveries of articles and coins imported from Greece into Palestine before Alexander, but seems to be unaware that we have now far more detailed knowledge of such finds<sup>4</sup>. *Metuentes Deum* (I 139 f.), pagan adopters of Jewish customs, already existed in Egypt during the second century B.C., as we can show from the Adler Papyri, a papyrus archive shortly to be published with the collaboration of the reviewer. The earliest hostile reference to the Jews of Egypt in a Greek papyrus (I 149; III 38) dates also from the second century B.C.<sup>5</sup>, and not as Professor Baron suggests from Roman Egypt. On the other hand, his view (I 161 f.) that a Jewish Hellenistic party was to a great extent responsible for the Maccabaeian revolution, has been entirely confirmed by E. Bickerman's recently

published work *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (Berlin: Schocken, 1937). Similarly the author's conviction of the early date of the Septuagint (I 145 f.) has been justified by the remarkable discovery of a Septuagint papyrus, dated from the second century B.C.<sup>6</sup>.

Generally, the author deserves nothing but congratulations for the reasonableness with which he uses his Greek and Roman sources. It is a matter of regret that classical scholars do not, as a rule, use to the same extent the highly important Jewish sources, as far as they are satisfactorily published and translated<sup>7</sup>, for research on the many unsolved problems of the Roman and Byzantine Near East.

FRITZ M. HEICHELHEIM

Cambridge, England

**Ludi scaenici et circenses quid in rebus publicis antiquorum valuerint.** By Vladimirus Gordziejew; pp. 113. Warsaw: Biblioteka Polska, 1936. (Dissertation)

In Greek drama based upon stories of the heroic age, search for allusions to the life of the playwright's own time can be rather illusory, not to say delusive. The number of finds depends somewhat upon the collector's elasticity of imagination. Fortunately, Dr. Gordziejew is duly distrustful in dealing with the over-ample literature of earlier allusion-hunters. His bibliography displays the usual doctoral exuberance. His recognition of American contributions makes the reviewer regret his inability to understand in a reciprocal spirit even the titles of the Polish works that so often enter the argument.

He begins with an indisputable instance, Phrynichus' reference to the sufferings of the Milesians. Aeschylus provides but few allusions to contemporary affairs; Sophocles, fewer; but Euripides, in spite of his own aloofness from political life, is by no means reticent upon policies of state. Naturally, Attic comedy was a

<sup>3</sup> According to Joseph., Ant. 14.10.6.203, the land tax of Judaea under Caesar's rule was not one-fourth of the crop, as the author (I 204) supposes, but one-fourth every second year, i. e. one-eighth. Again, it is very probable, if not beyond all doubt, that the Roman *quadagesima* (I 256 f.) was not levied in the usual form either in Palestine or Syria. Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigr.* 5, p. 18, no. 20 = CIL III 6671.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. A. Heurtley, Note on Fragments of Two Thessalian Proto-Geometric Vases, Found at Tell Abu Hawam. *Quart. Depart. Antiq. Palest.* 4 (1935) 181; J. H. Iliffe, A Hoard of Bronzes from Ascalon, c. Fourth Century B.C. *ibid.* 5 (1935) 61 f.; K. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas II* (1935) 5 f., 10.

<sup>5</sup> P. Grenf. I 43 = Wilcken, *Chr.* I 57 (late second century B.C., Dryton archive, Pathyris) comes from an age in which the Jews of Egypt gave their support to Cleopatra III, while the majority of the Greeks sided with her son Ptolemy VIII Soter II: cf. Pauly-Wissowa, art. 'Kleopatra III.' The anti-semitic document refers to a political (?) delay in the delivery of a cavalry horse bought by a Greek from a Jew. It is a part of the family archive of a Greek officer from Pathyris in Upper Egypt and its author might have been influenced by the actual political situation, as was perhaps the Alexandrian writer of BGU. IV 1079 = Wilcken, *Chr.* I 60. Cf. Baron op. cit. III 38.

<sup>6</sup> C. H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (1936) 9 f.

<sup>7</sup> This is the case with the Mishnah, a legal compilation which was completed at the end of the second century A.D. and presents no more problems of later interpolation than Gaius. Similarly, the decisions and Biblical exegeses of the Talmud, as far as they are expressly attributed to Rabbis both of Palestine and Babylonia between the second and fifth centuries A.D., throw a considerable light on the cultural life and political organization of the Roman, Byzantine and Persian Near East. The genetic problems of these numerous dated passages are no more difficult than those of passages in the *Corpus Juris* presented under the name of the original theoretical authority. For translations of Mishnah and Talmud which might be found of use, see Baron III 258 and 289.

much better vehicle. Cratinus abused Pericles persistently. Cleon became the next notable butt, Aristophanes his chief assailant, Eupolis a powerful second. Cleon's death did not stay the tradition of attack. The problem of explaining why the victims were almost always populares has challenged ingenious conjecturers. Our author's guess is that it was because the archons and choregi were normally of the aristocratic party; the writers, while not parasitical, knew where success lay. After the Peloponnesian War public affairs received ever-dwindling interference from the Greek stage.

Latin drama offers a paucity of political allusions. Following the tradition of Greek New Comedy, Plautus has but few examples. Terence presents none. In the Atellan farce our investigator finds nothing, in the togatae little. The mime was better fitted for political utterances and eventually was disturbingly vocal. The fabulae praetextae make but scant contribution. Gordziejew's chief concern has to be with the Roman audience and not the dramatist—the familiar story of how the people found the theatre and circus (he has strangely ignored the amphitheatre) the best place for public demonstrations, how they turned to political significance the words of a play or tempted the actor to extemporaneous utterances of a political nature. He ends with the ever-incredible tale of the rise in influence of the racing-syndicates until in Constantinople of the sixth century the factionarii were murderous political parties rather than votaries of sport. To be a 'green' or a 'blue' could win a man as much hatred from one who belonged to the opposite color as a 'red' now receives from a blue Republican.

This is a scholarly book in lucid Latin and is published in handsome form, with very few typographical errors.

WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL

Coconut Grove, Florida.

**Die Chronologie der Satiren und Epoden des Horaz auf entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Grundlage.** By Dr. Rudolf Latsch; pp. 117. Würzburg: Mayr, 1936

This study appears to be a development of a dissertation written under the direction of the late Professor K. Hosius of Würzburg. The author takes into consideration the work of those who have already treated in detail the chronology of the Satires and Epodes of Horace. Of the four scholars whose works are here under review, Kirchner, Franke, Grotefend and Teuffel, Dr. Latsch is most often in agreement with the conclusions of W. Teuffel (Rheinisches Museum, N.F. 4, 1846, and Zeitschrift für die Altertums-

wissenschaft, 1844, Nr. 44-46; 1845, Nr. 75-76). Each satire and each epode is studied from the point of view especially of the development of the poet as an author and a man, as well as from significant indications which help to date definitely or approximately each of the poems. There are worthwhile discussions of the psychological phases through which the poet passed. In this way the author indicates the gradual change in the poet's point of view: Horace is revealed in his period of storm and stress, then in the relative calm of the time when his relations with Maecenas were being established. The author evaluates with great thoroughness the opinions held by other scholars concerning the date of publication of each book of the Satires and of the book of Epodes. Especially useful are the comparative tables given at the end of this analysis (116-117) which show the results of the studies of other scholars, as well as those of Dr. Latsch himself, on the time of composition of each satire and epode. Dr. Latsch has done well to emphasise the psychological aspects of his subject, although, as the author would probably be the first to admit, such an approach may lead us at times to somewhat dangerous generalisations. Aside from the value of Dr. Latsch's own contributions, this discussion should be useful to all students of the development of Horace's power as a creative artist before he forged a new path in his Odes. The accompanying bibliography includes—with one lonely exception—only books and articles published in Germany.

JOHN J. SAVAGE

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**Kaiser Vespasian.** Untersuchungen zu Suetonius Vita Divi Vespasiani. By Heinz Richard Graf; pp. viii, 149. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1937. 9M.

Since the publication of my translation in the Loeb Classical Library (post hoc, non propter hoc) many works have appeared dealing directly or indirectly with Suetonius. Of these a good part are in English, but in his Literaturverzeichnis Dr. Graf mentions only two published in America and two in England. He might at least have added Dr. Skerrett's Pennsylvania dissertation, *Divus Vespasianus* (Philadelphia, 1924).

Dr. Graf gives us a very careful study of the biography, to which it is impossible to do justice in a brief review, throwing light both on Suetonius' method of composition and on his sources. Although the Lives of the Caesars is divided into eight books, it actually consists of three parts, namely, two series of legitimate emperors, sep-

arated by a period of anarchy. The Julio-Claudian emperors, in spite of their varying characters, need no justification of their right to rule. In the case of Vespasian it is necessary, first to establish his legitimacy, and then his claim to the title of optimus princeps, which is skilfully done.

It is a commonplace of criticism that Vespasian modeled himself after Augustus (see, for example, Magoffin in CW 31 [1937] 9). Dr. Graf treats this feature in detail, showing that in spite of many resemblances he was not an Augustus redivivus, but a man who undertook the difficult task of restoring the external and internal stability of the disorganized and bankrupt empire, and was so successful as to be succeeded by his two sons. For this we find him using two sources: the pro-Flavian *Commentarii*, used also by the elder Pliny in his *Histories*, and the hostile pamphlet literature of the senatorial opposition. There was also another pro-Flavian source, less easily identified, which was used by Tacitus and Dio, who, as well as Josephus and Suetonius, also used the *Commentarii Flaviani* (see the diagram, 53). These rival sources Suetonius balances in such a way as to neutralize what is unfavorable to Vespasian. Not to go into great detail, this is perhaps most clearly shown in the discussion of the charges of avarice brought against Vespasian, and in that of his wit and humor.

Putting the Notes at the end of the book, rather than in footnotes, doubtless makes a more attractive page, but it is far less convenient for the reader, especially since the figures in the text refer both to the Notes and to the *Literaturverzeichnis* at the beginning of the book. These are distinguished, it is true, by different type, but the reader grows weary of constantly turning to one or the other list.

JOHN C. ROLFE

Philadelphia, Pa.

**Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien.**

By Roland Hampe; pp. 112, 42 pls., 32 figs. Athens: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1936. 11M.

Five specimens in a large group of Geometric fibulae attributed to Boeotia, and perhaps seven of the Boeotian relief-pithoi, have scenes from mythology. These are prominent in Dr. Hampe's book, but its scope is much wider than the subject proposed in the title. The work is an enterprising survey of early Boeotian art, with the engraved fibulae to the fore. These are catalogued, fully and conveniently; the style of their engraving receives searching study, and a very interesting

attempt is made to determine their development and chronology by comparison with early Boeotian pottery. After a digression criticizing the sequence of early Greek statuettes set out by Kunze<sup>1</sup> (whose judgment of the pottery found with the Dipylon ivory is too rashly challenged), Hampe returns to the fibulae and discusses their mythographic scenes. Refusing to see the Nemean lion and the Stymphalian birds on British Museum 3204, he allows only four subjects: Herakles and the hydra (thrice: on the Philadelphia fibula treated in an enlarged, substantive, no longer epic but 'epodic' style); Herakles killing (sic) the hind (for the 'innere Grösse' settles that this is no ordinary hunt); Herakles fighting the *diphyei* Molione (twice: Hampe probes the confusion in legend of the Molione with the merely twin Aktorione); the Trojan horse. Where the gradually enlarged style of the later fibulae leaves off, the monumental style of the pithoi begins. Into the section devoted to an adventurous reinterpretation of their reliefs, the author works an important study of the relation of Medusa to the Gorgons, a condemnation (which hardly weighs the whole evidence) of the view that her centaur-like form on the famous pithos owes something to pre-Olympian religion, and a controversy with Persson about his Mycenaean Chimaera and Europa. Hampe seems to hit the mark with his observation that the former is only too chimerical, though details of the lion and bucking goat of his own interpretative sketch are not unquestionable.

Hampe's study is ingenious, eye-sharpening, altogether suggestive; but it suffers from a self-defeating impetuosity. Any threat to his fundamental premiss, that the 'sail' and the 'moon' fibulae can only be Boeotian, quite stampedes him; his count of the finds in the Argolid is only slightly and venially short, but it is serious that while sceptical to a fault about the fibulae reported from Attica he forces into the list of Boeotian finds the Arndt brooches (bought in Athens, their provenience unknown), and a further item which seems to have nothing to do with fibulae; to prove the lion on the Chaeronea brooch Boeotian he grabs at a remark of Kunze which is not in itself to his point, while its context would make the beast Argive. For his own theory of development, he has to refute Reisinger's claim that the lunate form is late, and for this relies on Poulsen's description of Eleusis fibulae, which, read to the end, proves ambiguous on the essential point. Specialists in vase-painting will think of Hampe's dash across a corner of their domain with mixed feelings: gratitude for much publication and some just observations; impatience at his comparisons of



the incommensurable, his liberties with strict terms ('first black-figured style', 'subgeometric'); surprise that the specimen par excellence of a late fibula should have come, with much else disconcerting, from the same grave as the 'earliest' of his key-vases. As to his interpretation of the 'Rinderraub' relief, where is it said that Achilles *ambushed* Aeneas? Or does the author, contrary to his principle of the fixity of motives, see wilful contamination with the Troilos story?

H. R. W. SMITH

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**Lezioni di paleografia.** By Giulio Battelli; pp. x, 227. Rome: Pont. Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia e Diplomatica, 1936. 32L.

Our textbooks of Latin palaeography have suffered from the antiquarian and the empiricist. Wattenbach's *Anleitung*, Maunde Thompson's *Handbook*, Prou's *Manuel*, Reusens' *Éléments* are cases in point. All of them have their practical value and contain facts worth knowing, but the facts lack unity and significance, and the beginner is inevitably confused. Scholars are aware that Ludwig Traube (d. 1907) breathed fresh life into palaeography and revolutionized its treatment. His *Perrona Scottorum* (1900) and *Nomina Sacra* (1907) opened up new vistas; his *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* (published posthumously) furnished an admirable illustration of the historical, i.e., the only scientific, approach to the subject. Yet so difficult is it to recast a popular textbook that neither Thompson's sumptuously illustrated *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (1912), which is only an expansion of his *Handbook*, nor Prou's *Manuel* revised by Alain de Boüard (1924) show any signs of having profited to any extent from Traube's writings, a fact which cannot but retard the progress of palaeography.

It is therefore greatly to Professor Battelli's credit that his textbook has been conceived in Traube's spirit, and therein lies its chief merit. The modest title of the work as well as the modest preface disarms criticism. We have before us, we are told, the lectures given to classes in the Vatican school, the excuse for publishing them being the absence of a really modern textbook. He does not flatter himself that his book has filled the gap. However, he is to be congratulated on the start that he has made. One has only to compare certain chapters like the history of the Visigothic or the Beneventan script with the accounts in extant textbooks to realize the progress achieved. There are details in this book which are open to criticism, but the fact remains that

Battelli builds on Traube and he is acquainted with the researches of the men who have broken new ground in the last three decades on the lines laid down by Traube. The absence of Rand's name in connection with the school of Tours, and Bruckner's name in connection with Swiss manuscripts, must be slips of the pen, as well as calling Alcuin an Irishman (161) and giving the British Museum instead of Cairo as the present home of the Oxyrhynchus Vergil in square capitals (48). But these and other small errors will doubtless be removed when this useful volume is revised for a second edition.

E. A. LOWE

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### IN THE CLASSROOM

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#### Commius the Atrebatian

The exciting drama of Commius the Atrebatian is rarely presented by the teacher to the pupil in the limited time allowed for the required reading in Book 4 of Caesar's Commentaries. Commius usually signifies to us the name of a petty Belgic king whom Caesar elected to send to Britain as an ambassador in B.C. 55, prior to his first expedition, because of his considerable prestige across the channel. With the three brief references to him in Book 4 (21, 27, 35), the name of Commius flashes before the eyes of our students and disappears into anonymity except for the passing mention of him in Book 7 (75, 76, 79). The man deserves a better fate, if for no other reason than that Caesar's comment in Book 4.21, 'cuius et virtutem et consilium probabat et quem sibi fidelem esse arbitratur' indicates that Book 4 was not written until after the Gallic uprising of B.C. 52.

Commius was established as king of the Atrebatians in B.C. 57, after the conclusion of the first campaign against the Belgic states. Caesar had reason to admire his courage, respect his wisdom, and trust his loyalty (l.c.). He succeeded in serving both Caesar and the Britons with apparently no betrayal of confidence to either side in the peace negotiations involved in both expeditions across the channel. In recognition of Commius' faithful services in Britain Caesar had granted the Belgic Atrebatians immunity from certain obligations and had restored to these people their own rights and laws. While this must have enhanced the prestige of Commius among his own subjects, he was, in addition, given control of the Morini, probably in B.C. 55 (4.38). In



B.C. 53, on the occasion of the general unrest in Belgic Gaul and the subsequent fighting against Ambiorix, Caesar again gave evidence of his confidence in Commius by assigning him to protect his rear as he advanced from the territory of the Menapii to campaign against the Treveri.

Now the striking thing about Commius' part in Caesar's activities in Gaul is how inextricably the account of him is bound up with the career of C. Volusenus Quadratus who served with the legions under Caesar as *tribunus militum* and subsequently as *praefectus equitum* at least from B.C. 57 until the close of the Gallic campaigns. The first notice of Volusenus reveals him in the winter of B.C. 57 as a clear-thinking, cool-headed, resourceful soldier who was largely responsible for saving his superior officer from an overwhelming defeat (3.5). In B.C. 55, presumably because Volusenus had given evidence of the quality of both his judgment and his courage, he was commissioned by his chief to make a thorough reconnaissance of the island of Britain with the purpose of finding out its size, what and how great nations dwelt there, what technique of fighting the inhabitants used, what general practices they employed, and where the best places were for landing troops (4.20, 21). Such facts could never be ascertained if one remained on board the vessel, and Volusenus did not leave his galley. That Caesar was bitterly disappointed in Volusenus' execution of his commission is revealed by his apology for his choice (4.21) and in the scathing irony with which he records Volusenus' report (l.c.). Thereafter Volusenus is not recorded as having been assigned any important mission by Caesar, and only once is he ever mentioned again by him, and then with no enthusiasm (6.41). While Volusenus was cruising along the English coast, thoroughly investigating its people and their practices from afar, we know that Commius was also on the island where scant respect was demonstrated for his kingly power. Hirtius bears witness to the deep personal enmity existing between Commius and Volusenus (8.49). This seems to be the one recorded opportunity the two men had for working at cross purposes; but we cannot even guess with any degree of accuracy what happened in the summer of B.C. 55 to engender such hostility between them. It does seem clear from subsequent events, however, that Commius by some means blasted Volusenus' ambitions for a brilliant military career with Caesar.

That Commius did not yield to pressure to oppose the Romans at the beginning of Vercingetorix' rebellion is evident, because a leader of his importance, had he been one of the instigators, would have received earlier notice in the Commentaries comparable to the chiding remarks

made by Caesar when the Atrebatian finally became one of the four Gallic commanders who marched to the relief of the beleaguered Alesia (7.75, 76).

In the winter of B.C. 53/52, Hirtius records (8.23) that while Caesar was in Gallia Citerior, Commius plotted against the Romans. As has been stated, there is an *argumentum ex silentio* that Caesar did not believe it. However, Labienus apparently did, for he sent Volusenus, or else gave approval to a plan of Volusenus' to kill the Atrebatian by treachery. After inducing the king to agree to attend a conference Volusenus carefully selected some centurions to assist him in his plans for the assassination. When the two principals met, Volusenus seized Commius' hand and one of the centurions stabbed him. However, the plan miscarried and Volusenus succeeded only in inflicting a severe wound on his enemy which served to alienate Commius from the Romans for all the future.

While Vercingetorix surrendered with a dramatic gesture after his ill-fated uprising in B.C. 52, Commius escaped to his kinsmen in England, if we are to accept an amusing incident (a lasting monument to his *consilium*) recorded in Frontinus (*Strategemata* 2.13.11):

Commius Atrebas, cum victus a Divo Iulio ex Gallia in Britanniam fugeret et forte ad Oceanum vento quidem secundo, sed aestu recedente venisset, quamvis naves in siccis litoribus haerent, pandi nihilominus vela iussit: quae cum persequens eum Caesar ex longinquo tumentia et flatu plena vidisset, ratus prospero sibi eripi cursu recessit.

Before the winter of B.C. 52/51 was over, Commius was back on the continent, and with Correus, a leader of the Bellovaci, was mobilizing forces of Belgians to embarrass the ever faithful Remi (8.6). Commius even went across the Rhine to secure assistance and was not unsuccessful (8.7, 10). The insurrection failed, Correus lost his life, and all the rebellious leaders came to terms except Commius who fled to his German friends (8.21, 22, 23; Dio 40.42, 43). Later the same year Commius renewed his hostile activities against the Romans and maintained an annoying guerilla warfare. He was a source of great embarrassment to Marcus Antonius who, in the autumn of B.C. 51, was establishing winter quarters in Belgium and was regularly losing supply trains to Commius and his irregular cavalry (8.47). Antonius had with him, as prefect of cavalry, C. Volusenus Quadratus who, Hirtius records, undertook the assignment of capturing or destroying Commius with especial satisfaction. The Roman finally came face to face in battle with his personal enemy, and, as the Belgians fell back, Volusenus pressed on after Commius. When Volusenus with a few companions was in advance of

most of his men, Commius, who had been retreating, wheeled his horse about and, with a mighty blow of his lance, pierced Volusenus' thigh. Commius' cavalry was decisively defeated but Volusenus had sustained a critical wound from his adversary and the Atrebatian escaped because of the speed of his horse. After this incident Commius sent representatives to Antonius for amnesty. The last four lines of Hirtius account of Commius tell the story impressively (8.48):

unum illud orat, ut timori suo concedatur, ne in conspectum veniat cuiusquam Romani. Cuius postulationem Antonius cum iudicaret ab iusto nasci timore, veniam petenti dedit, obsides accepit.

Thereafter the name of Commius disappears from the corpus of Latin literature. His subsequent career as king of the English Atrebates and the record of his three sons as British princes is vouched for by competent numismatic evidence.

## ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

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All correspondence concerning this department should be directed to Professor Godolphin. The system of abbreviation used is that of Marouzeau in *L'Année Philologique*. For list of periodicals regularly abstracted and for full names of abstractors see the index number to each volume of CW.

### Ancient Authors

**Aelianus Tacticus.** Dain, A.—*Reconstruction de deux manuscrits perdus d'Élien*. Accidental losses and transpositions common to three extant MSS of Venetian provenience establish external form (gatherings, dimensions, etc.) of a lost MS, assigned to period 1350-1450, utilized by Franciscus Robortellus in editio princeps of the *Theoria Tactica* at Venice in 1552, and, with less detail, of its archetype.

REG 50 (1937) 363-384 (Heller)

**Cato.** Vetter, Emil—*Zu Cato, De re rust. 135, 1. Treblae* is not the name of agricultural implements in the nominative plural, but the name of a town in the locative. *Trebla* (or *Trebula*) *Alba*, therefore, was a Campanian town exporting pottery in the second century B.C.

WS 55 (1937) 190-193 (Wallace)

**Euripides.** Mesk, Joseph—*Der Schlachtbericht in den Hiketiden des Euripides*. Following the traditional text (ll. 650-667), the three Athenian divisions before Thebes are arranged thus: in the center, opposite the Gate of Electra in the southeast of the Cadmia, were the chariots, on their right the cavalry, on their left the infantry. The left wing of the infantry extended to (or towards) the spring of Ares, which is the modern Paraport. The grave of Amphion, in front of which the chariots stood is east of the Gate of Electra near the Gate of Proetus, which agrees with Paus. 9.17.4. The cavalry (equal in number to the infantry!) are before the Gate of Proetus. The resulting thin line of the Athenian army extended about halfway around the Cadmia. Euripides knew Theban topography accurately. The editors' re-arrangements of the verses are proved impossible, but the author believes that a new arrangement may solve remaining difficulties.

WS 55 (1937) 48-54 (Wallace)

**Eutropius.** Condurachi, E.—*Una versione greca di un passo di Eutropio*. Two Greek versions of Eutropius are known, one made about 380 A.D. by Paianius, the second much later by Capito. A passage in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes (8th century) reproduces Eutropius 9.24 and 25 almost word for word. Since neither Paianius nor Capito followed the text of Eutropius closely, we now have knowledge of a third Greek version of Eutropius.

RFIC 65 N.S. 15 (1937) 47-50 (Duckworth)

**Fronto.** Hauler, Edmund—*Zu Fronto S. 127, Z. 3 ff. (Naber)*. A new MS reading supports the identification of Nepos with the historian and of the incident with Scipio's initial reverse before Numantia.

WS 55 (1937) 196-199 (Wallace)

**Herodotus.** Bérard, Jean—*Remarques sur une erreur historique d'Hérodote (II, 124-136)*. Herodotus places great pharaohs of dyn. IV after Rameses (dyn. XX). Diodorus, making same error (1.63-65), manifestly confuses Bocchoris of dyn. XXIV with Bikhheris of dyn. IV. Error is probably due to Egyptian 'priests', consulted orally by both Diodorus and Herodotus.

REG 50 (1937) 289-292 (Heller)

### Art. Archaeology

**Kenner, Hedwig**—*Zum Nestorbecher*. The 'four handles' of Homer II. 11.632 ff. are illustrated from 'Doppelhenkel' and 'Bügelhenkel' on clay vases of post-Mycenaean period. The poet in imagination combined this feature, familiar to him, with an earlier type of cup illustrated by the well-known gold cup (the so-called Cup of Nestor) from the fourth shaft grave at Mycenae.

WS 55 (1937) 181-182 (Wallace)

**Lerat, L.**—*Reliefs inédits de Delphes*. Apollo seated on the omphalos. Votive reliefs to Zeus soter and Athena soteira; to Artemis(?); to Dionysos; to Proxenos. The last is the best preserved; the hero reclines, holding a rhyton and phiale. Funerary stelae; the best preserved shows a female slave presenting a mirror. The style points to 450 B.C. or earlier.

BCH 60 (1936) 350-370 (Hall)

**Marinatos, Sp.**—*Le temple géométrique de Dréros* (continued). Vases of the cult, apparently of the 7th century. Pithoi transitional between Minoan and Greek. Other vases undoubtedly geometric. Small terra cotta figures, including a bull. Metal objects, including a gorgoneion 16 cm. in diameter, 2 dragons on the forehead; also a figurine in crested helmet and with a large round shield. Graffiti: animals and men with bows and arrows. Inscriptions: two examples of the same inscription of the 3rd-2nd century.

BCH 60 (1936) 257-285 (Hall)

**Shear, T. Leslie**—*The Campaign of 1936* (in the excavation of the Athenian agora) (Illustrated). This campaign 'has proved by the importance and the variety of the discoveries to be the most successful season' so far. Among the objects here briefly discussed are a statue base signed by Praxiteles; the area around the Theseion, containing strong indirect confirmation of the belief that this building is the temple of Hephaistos; a shield captured from a Spartan at Pylos in 425 B.C.; an ivory statuette which is a replica of the statue of Apollo Lykeios attributed to Praxiteles; a collection of more than

a hundred lead seals; a vase apparently having the owner's name on it, which taken in connection with a similarly marked bowl previously found 'implies a widespread knowledge of reading and writing among the Athenians in the late eighth and the early seventh century'; and objects of sculpture, including a bronze horse of the late Geometric period. A large 'restored plan of the buildings in the agora' is inserted.

Hesperia 6 (1937) 333-381 (Durham)

**Thompson, Dorothy Burr**—*The Garden of Hephaistos* (Illustrated). In the bedrock south of the 'Theseion' rows of cuttings have been found, many of which contain what were evidently flowerpots, some dating from the third century B.C., others from the late first century B.C. The garden seems to have bordered three sides of the temple. An attempt is made to determine what was grown there.

Hesperia 6 (1937) 396-425 (Durham)

**Vanderpool, Eugene**—*The Kneeling Boy* (Illustrated). A terracotta plastic vase, probably Attic, about ten inches high, in the form of a kneeling youth tying a fillet around his head. 'The finest and most important piece of archaic art that has been found thus far in the Agora excavations.' Dated about 540 B.C. or perhaps slightly later.

Hesperia 6 (1937) 426-441 (Durham)

# Philosophy. Religion. Science

**Bignone, Ettore**—*Chiarimenti e aggiunte all' 'Aristotele Perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro.'* A reply to a review of the author's book by Max Pohlenz.

A&R 39 (1937) 119-129 (De Lacy)

**Bonner, Campbell**—*Some Phases of Religious Feeling in Later Paganism*. There is nothing in kind to set the emotions of the religious pagan apart from those of the Christian. In quality they are the same, for they represent the needs of the spirit and direct themselves toward similar objects.

HThR 30 (1937) 119-140 (Weber)

**Guillon, P.**—*Les offrandes en terre-cuite et le culte de la terrasse supérieure de Castraki*. The offerings are to be divided between Ptoios and Ge-Demeter.

BCH 60 (1936) 416-427 (Hall)

**Levi, Adolfo**—*Sulla Sofistica (Studi introduttivi)*. I. *L'ambiente storico della Sofistica* (To be continued). Sophistic movement not a demoralizing force in 5th century, but a movement directed against the low moral standards of the time. Fifth century Greece in Peloponnesian war shows ethical and religious conservatism combined with utter barbarity in the mutual relations of states and individuals. The Sophists advocated a realistic appreciation of the motives underlying social conduct and a new utilitarian moral code.

Soph 5 (1937) 191-211 (De Lacy)

**Mattingly, Harold**—*The Roman 'Virtues'*. The cult of the virtues identified itself first with the great Roman gods, particularly with Jupiter, then the Emperor. Christianity absorbed the pagan cult of the virtues, changed its content, and universalized its scope.

HThR 30 (1937) 103-117 (Weber)

**Pettazoni, Raffaele**—*Confession of Sins and the Classics*. Traces the motif of confession in ancient literature, and religions, and concludes that confes-

sion did not belong to the Indo-European element in ancient civilization.

HThR 30 (1937) 1-14 (Weber)

**Turolla, Enrico**—*Una prima crisi spirituale di Platone riflessa nell' 'Apologia'*. (*L'Innocente Condannato*). A chronological development may be traced in Plato's dialogues paralleling the changes in his character caused by the successive disillusionments that he experienced. A comparison of Epistle VII with the Apology reveals that the death of Socrates occasioned the first great crisis in his life, and caused him to turn away from the evils of the world to the ideal of a higher world.

A&R 39 (1937) 102-118 (De Lacy)

# RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Compiled from publishers' trade lists, American, British, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Some errors and omissions in these lists are inevitable, but CW makes every effort to ensure accuracy and completeness. Books received immediately upon publication (or before appearance in the trade lists) are given a brief descriptive notice. Prospective reviewers, who have not previously written for CW and who wish to submit sample reviews are urged to choose unnoticed books accessible to them in libraries.

# Ancient Authors

**Cato**—Catonis orationum fragmenta, interpretatus est Rudolf Till; pp. viii, 142, 1937. (Dissertation)

**Hesiod**. Buse, Hans—*Quaestiones Hesiodae et Orphicae*; pp. 132. Halle a. S., 1937. (Dissertation)

**Manilius**—M. Manilii Astronomicon, Liber I-v, edited by A. E. Housman; second edition, Vol. I, pp. lxxv, 125; II, xxxi, 138; III, xxviii, 78; IV, xvii, 142; V, xlvii, 139. Cambridge University Press (New York: Macmillan), 1937. \$2.50 each vol.

New edition, supervised by A. S. F. Gow, of Housman's great work, part of which has long been out of print. The work is reproduced by photography and changes are consequently slight, but it will be convenient to have the complete edition available.

**Old Testament: Apocrypha**—The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek, edited by Campbell Bonner with the collaboration of Herbert C. Youtie; pp. ix, 106, 2 pls. London: Christophers, 1937. (Studies and Documents edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, VIII)

Editio princeps, with translation and commentary, of text of the last ten chapters of Enoch preserved in a papyrus codex.

**Plato**—Phaedrus, Ion, Gorgias, and Symposium with Passages from the Republic and Laws, translated into English with an Introduction and Prefatory Notes by Lane Cooper; pp. lviii, 436. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. \$3.50

A translation by a well-known professor of English Language and Literature written primarily to inspire the reading of Plato in the original and a greater appreciation of the philosopher as poet and artist.

**Propertius**—Propertius, translated into English verse by A. S. Way. London: Macmillan, 1937. 2s.6d.

**Querolus**—Texte établi et traduit par Léon Herrmann; pp. xxvii, 129. Brussels: Demarez, 1937

# History. Social Studies

**Clodd, Edward**—The Story of the Alphabet; new edition, pp. 209, ill. New York: Appleton-Century, 1938. \$1.25

**Giesecke, Walther**—Antikes Geldwesen; pp. 255, 6 pls. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1938. 26M.



- Grant, Christina Phelps**—The Syrian Desert: Caravans, Travel and Exploration; pp. 425, ill., maps. New York: Macmillan, 1938. \$5.00
- Hölscher, Wilhelm**—Libyer und Ägypter. Beiträge zur Ethnologie u. Geschichte libyscher Völkern nach d. altägypt. Quellen; pp. 70, ill. Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York: Augustin, 1937. (Dissertation)
- Lowe, H.**—Judaism and Christianity. Vol. 2, Contact of Pharisaism with other cultures; pp. 393. New York: Macmillan, 1937. \$6.00
- Mackenzie, Compton**—Pericles; pp. 351. London: Hodder, 1937. 18s.
- Quennell, Marjorie and C. H. E.**—Everyday Life in Roman Britain; second edition revised and enlarged. London: Batsford, 1937. 5s.
- Oliver, D. T.**—De Conditionibus. Digest 12, 1 and 4-7, and 13, 1-3, edited with translation and notes; pp. 142. Cambridge University Press, 1937. 7s.6d.
- Vogt, Joseph**—Cicero und Sallust über die catilinarenische Verschwörung; pp. 71. Frankfurt a. M.: Diesterweg, 1938. 2M.
- Walter, Gérard**—Brutus et la fin de la République; pp. 240. Paris: Payot, 1938. 30fr.
- Art. Archaeology**
- Antonsson, O.**—The Praxiteles Marble Group in Olympia; pp. 210, ill., 32 pages of colotype pls. Cambridge University Press, 1937. 10s.6d.
- Barton, George Aaron**—Archaeology and the Bible; 7th edition revised, pp. 781, ill., maps. Philadelphia: American Sunday S. Union, 1937. \$3.50
- Laur-Belart, Rudolf**—Führer durch Augusta Raurica. Im Auftr. d. hist. u. antiquar. Ges. zu Basel verf.; pp. 158, ill., 3 pls. Basel: Frobenius, 1937. 2.80fr.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art**—Guide to the Collections. Pt. I, Ancient and Oriental Art; third edition, pp. 96, ill., diagrs. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1937. \$0.25
- Payne, Humphry and Gerard Mackworth Young**—Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis. Vol. I, text; Vol. II, plates. London: Cresset, 1937. 42s.
- Wirbelauer, Karl-Willy**—Antike Lapidarien; pp. 48. Würzburg: Triltsch, 1937. (Dissertation)
- Epigraphy. Paleography. Numismatics**
- American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor**—Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua. Vol. 5, Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea, edited by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron; pp. 246. London: Manchester University Press, 1937. 40s.
- Dow, Sterling**—Prytaneis, A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors; pp. 259, ill. Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1937. (The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, Hesperia: Supplement 1) \$3.00
- San Nicolò, Marian**—Zur Nachbürgerschaft in den Keilschrifturkunden und den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri; pp. 50. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften (Munich: Beck), 1937. (Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Abt. Jg. 1937, H. 6) 3M.

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